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The People.

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THE PEOPLE

Can be had hereafter from any new dealer in

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THE VOTE IN 1897.

State.	1897.	1896.
California	1,611	1,611
COLORADO	1,444	160
Connecticut	1,223	1,223
Illinois	1,147	1,147
Indiana	325	325
IOWA	910	453
KENTUCKY	68	—
Maine	11	11
MARYLAND	508	669
MASSACHUSETTS	6,301	2,114
MICHIGAN	541	326
Minnesota	948	948
Missouri	610	610
Nebraska	186	186
New Hampshire	228	228
NEW JERSEY	4,885	3,985
NEW YORK	20,854	17,731
OHIO	4,242	1,165
PENNSYLVANIA	5,152	1,684
RHODE ISLAND	998	558
Texas	1	1
UTAH	124	—
VIRGINIA	528	115
Wisconsin	1,314	1,314
Total	54,159	36,564

These figures are final, with the exception of Iowa, which is liable to alteration. The Iowa vote given is taken on the candidate next highest to Governor. The vote for Governor will not be known until the Legislature has counted it. It will not differ materially, one way or another, from the poll of the next highest candidate. To delay this table for that return would be a useless delay of the good news it conveys.

* * *

In the above table the States in caps went into last November's election.

* * *

Two new States, Kentucky and Utah, appear this year in the Socialist column.

* * *

The total polled last year by the 22 States that went into the election was 36,564. The total polled this year by the 13 alone that had an election is 46,559,—an increase of 9,995 by these 13 alone over all last year.

* * *

If all the 22 States of last year had had an election this year, it is undeniable that a much higher vote would have been registered in all. Even supposing that their poll would have been wiped out, the poll of 13 States who went into the election this year—46,559—points to an increase of 9,995 over last year.

* * *

New York keeps the banner, and shall keep it in honor. She will try to preserve it, increasing her lead in emulous competition with her sisters; ready, however, to yield it to whichsoever of them should improve upon her best; and ready to applaud the successful winner.

Here mention should be made of the municipal vote polled in Massachusetts during this month, and that foreshadows the increase of next November.

Haverhill elects an S. L. P. Councilman, and polls for its Mayorlty candidate, John C. Chase, 875 votes.

Fitchburg polled for Mayor 498 votes; for Alderman, 2d Ward, 288 votes.

Springfield polled for Mayor 153 votes; for Aldermen in two wards, 306 and 414 respectively.

Lawrence polls 1,139 for Mayor, with as much as 3,179 for Barr for Alderman.

Cambridge, 1,711 for Stacy for Alderman.

Lynn, Wentworth for Mayor, 145, with a poll running from 391 to 646 for minor offices.

Holyoke, Lovell and Lapointe for Aldermen, respectively 700 and 834, and Ruther 271.

Holyoke had no Socialist candidate for Mayor.

IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

From the London "Social Democrat."

"Go on away, we don't want none o' yer Socialist rubbish down here."

The speaker was one of a crowd standing round a small platform at a street corner, on which stood a man, who was vainly trying to make himself heard over the shouts and jeers of the crowd, and by the side of which another stood, holding a red flag.

"I am afraid, my friend, you don't quite know what Socialism means," said the man on the platform, turning to the last speaker.

"Oh, don't I though?" retorted the latter, "I know as much about it as I want to know, and more, perhaps, than you can tell me," whereat the crowd yelled approval.

"Well, if you know as much about it as you want to know, I wonder you stop here. If you don't wish to listen to what I have to say you needn't stay here."

"I shall stop here just as long as I like. I have got just as much right to be here as you have."

"I didn't say that you had not as much right, but as I was speaking, I think it was very ill-mannered of you to interrupt, and I have not the least objection to you standing there, only while you do you might keep quiet and listen."

"Who do you think wants to listen to your damned rot?" the other shouted, amid the approving laughter and cheers of the crowd.

The man on the platform endeavored to ignore the interruptions, and began:

"I was about to say, when I was interrupted, that we are holding this meeting here on behalf of the candidature of our Comrade Morgan."

"Where is Morgan?" shouted the man in the crowd. "Bring him here, and we'll Morgan him. He's a pretty beauty, he is, to be a candidate for anything."

"Well, here is Morgan," said the other, "and he'll be quite ready to answer for himself, I'm sure, so I will at once call upon him to speak," saying which he stepped down from the platform, and his place was taken by a young, fair and rather slightly built man, whose appearance was greeted with jeers.

"I understand some of you were very kindly inquiring after me," he commenced. "That was very good of you, I am sure. I can only assure you that your kindly interest is reciprocated. I am here as the Social-Democratic candidate because I take an interest in the well-being of my fellowmen. I recognize that the interests of all the workers are identical, and that by serving the interest of my class I am serving my own, and that it is only by promoting the interest of the whole body that the interest of the individual member can be promoted."

"You take an interest!" yelled the man who had been interrupting before. "You would take anything that was within your reach, I know."

The crowd laughed at this, but Morgan went on:

"This, after all, is the basis of Socialism—intelligent self-interest, a recognition that the interests of each one of us can best be served through the good of all. If I live under bad conditions, and have to put up with low wages, it is because other workers live under bad conditions and are content with low wages. Now, with regard to this question of education,—"

"You'd better go and get some education yourself," shouted a bystander.

"No fear, it aint education he wants," cried the man who had been the principal interrupter. "He's artful enough, I tell you. He's more R. than F., you bet. Why don't you tell us what you done with the money belonging to the sick benefit society?" he went on, turning towards Morgan.

"What do you mean?" demanded the latter, hotly.

"Oh, you know well enough what I mean, you dirty, thieving dog," retorted the other.

"I do not know what you mean," said Morgan, "and you have no right to come here, Ted Sennett, and make such insinuations."

"Haven't I? I've got as much right to make insinuations as you have to be a candidate. A fine candidate you are, I don't think. You ought to be ashamed of yourself."

"I have never yet done anything in connection with anybody with which I have worked to be ashamed of; and if you mean to say that I have, I can only describe such an assertion as a foul and baseless lie."

"Do you mean to say that I am a liar, then?" demanded Sennett.

"Certainly you are, if you make any such assertion as that which I have characterized."

"That's nice language, isn't it, for a candidate?" cried Sennett, looking round on the crowd. "He comes out here to ask people for votes, and then turns round and insults them, and calls them liars. He ought to be a candidate, he did."

"Well, but you called him a thief, Ted," timidly remarked a bystander.

"So he is; a dirty, rotten thief," shouted Sennett, "and I'll let everybody know it, too."

Amid such interruptions Morgan briefly concluded his speech, and the crowd dispersed.

"What was that about the sick benefit society money?" asked the man who had slightly remonstrated with him of Sennett as they walked away together.

"Nothing that I know of," the latter replied.

"What, do you mean to say that there was nothing at all in it?"

"Nothing at all in it! Certainly that's what I mean. Why, Bill Morgan is as straight as any man; but he's a damned fool of a Socialist, and he makes me savage."

"Well, but it wasn't a right thing to do, was it, to go and start it about that the man was a thief when you knew it wasn't true?"

"I never SAID he was a thief, did I?"

"Yes; to me you did."

"Ah, well, I didn't say that at first, and if the others are fools enough to go and carry it about, so much the better."

"Why?"

"Bill Morgan is running against the parson and our boss, ain't he? And we have got to keep him out."

"I don't quite see what we want to keep him out for, I must say; but I suppose you're right."

"Right! of course I'm right. We must stand by the parson and the boss. We don't want no bleedin' Socialists and Atheists on our School Board, do we? Runnin' out agin the bleedin' Church, and not believin' in nothing, and wanting to teach the children science and morality, and all sich rot as that. I never learned no science nor no morality, nor nothing o' the sort when I went to school. And I've done very well without it as a workingman. All such things as that should be left to our betters. They understands them things better'n we do. That's what I can't stand wi' Bill Morgan, a conceited puppy I call he, always sticking his nose in where his backside ain't wanted. Why, I actually heard him argufyin' with the parson one day, trying to make out he knew as much as parson did. What rot!"

(Continued on Page 4.)

ON TO WASHINGTON!

Lessons of the Fall River New Scale of Wages.

The Reduction of Wages in the Fall River Cotton Spinning Mills of Over 11 Per Cent. on the Ground of the Competition of Southern Mills Where Labor is Cheaper and Where the Fall River Bosses Themselves Have Interests Sweeps Away Stacks of False Notions and Points out the Urgency of the Conquest of the Nation by its Proletariat.

The Fall River, Mass., wage reduction, or "Fall River's New Wage Scale," just declared, is one of those events that, like an avalanche, come down crushing all rubbish in their path.

The "New Scale" is an announcement by the manufacturers of a cut in wages equal to 11 per cent and a fraction more—and it includes officers as well as employees. But the "New Scale" does not end there. It comes acompanied with a statement no doubt true, and no bluff, to the effect that if the men do not accept the cut the works will be closed.

Are these manufacturers going to retire from business and live on what they squeezed out of labor if the Fall River operatives refuse the new scale? Or are these manufacturers going to starve?

Not at all. The fact is that cotton-spinning plants have been started in the South, and that labor—native labor, way back American labor—, can be got so cheap down there that the plants in the North could not compete with them at the old scale.

But this is not all. The very manufacturers who have mills in Fall River have mills in the South: at least not a few of them have, or have interests in the Southern concerns. In the South their hands work 11 per cent cheaper, and they use this cheapness as a pretext for reductions North. They are competing with themselves. Their threat to shut down is no bluff. If they can get labor in Fall River as cheaply as they do South, the Fall River plants will continue to work; that is to say, if they can reduce Fall River labor to Southern conditions, Fall River labor may continue to work and "live;" but if the Fall River men will not submit, then the plants will close up;—and then? Sooner or later the Fall River men will have to become Southerners, either by emigrating thither towards Southern wages, or by finally submitting and thereby causing Southern wages to emigrate North.

This state of things ruthlessly uproots a whole battalion of economic fallacies. The wage of the wage worker must decline under capitalism. The boss has the whip-hand; the employee is helpless.

In sight of this is there no alternative? Is there nothing in prospect but either emigration South or acceptance of Southern wages North? Yes. There is another alternative, to wit, to march upon Washington and conquer the public powers with a full set of government officials elected by the working class upon the political platform of proletarian interests.

Government and form of governments—social, economic, and industrial institutions are established for the welfare of the people. Just as soon as a people realize that the form of government, the social institutions, etc., are equivalent to a decree of death, a people that is a people, and not a drove of cattle, will tear down such form of government, such social, industrial and economic institutions and rear up new ones, which, instead of decreasing the people's death, promote its living.

The capitalist social, industrial and economic conditions decree the people's death. A trifling minority, that labors not, has it in its power, thanks to these institutions, to lower ever more the scale of the people's living and comforts, aye, shorten their lives by a system of refined cannibalism—deprive them of freedom on earth and hasten their enjoyment of freedom in heaven.

These social, industrial and economic institutions rest upon and are protected by the political framework of the nation, and this political framework not only is in the hands of the same small and idle minority, it is so shaped by them as to do their bidding.

The working class must dislodge this class from political supremacy, and it must use the political power thus conquered to dislodge that class from the industrial supremacy that it enjoys. It must conquer at the ballot box, and with the Government in its hands, it must overthrow the capitalist social system and establish the Socialist Commonwealth.

The fate of Fall River points to facts that in their turn point to the only way out—

"On to Washington!"

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

N. Y. CITY.—18th Assembly District Sunday evening lectures. Free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City. Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join.
Programme of Lectures for December:
Dec. 26—"Democracy." Lecturer, Chas. H. Matchett.
Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m. Questions will be answered after the lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

IMMIGRATION

As Seen From the Workingmen's Point of View.

Even if Anti-Immigration Could Have at One Time Prevented the Decline of Wages, To-Day it Can't—To Stop it To-Day With the Hope of Mending Things is Like Closing the Well, after the Horse has Fallen in, With the Hope of Getting Him Out Again—The Real Cause of the Decline of Wages Lies in Capitalism, Immigration or no Immigration.

ALLEGHENY, Pa., Dec. 20.—"History repeats itself"! It certainly repeats as far as the mirages, the workingmen behold, from time to time, are concerned. The anti-immigration movement of the present time reminds one of the anti-machinery of the past. In both instances we see in the workingmen a lack of appreciation of cause and effect; we see them fighting the windmill, fighting the shadows, not thinking that the former are not knights and the latter objects. In seeking panaceas they try to remedy some petty symptom, neglecting the disease and its causative agents.

The air of this "free" country (Lord be praised!) is full of the war-cry against immigration; nearly every American workingman is up in arms against the poor expropriated European farmer or laborer who comes to this country with nothing but his labor to seek a livelihood. This honorable American workingman condemns the new-comer, forgetting that he himself was an immigrant once upon a time, that he was also expropriated once upon a time, that he was also in the clutches of starvation, and fled to this country once upon a time. But he was more fortunate; he met the hearty welcome and embrace of the young capitalist, who needed him for his own (the capitalist's, I mean) self expansion and development. There is an end to everything, even to good times, and now the American workingman finds himself enlisted in that great reserve "starvation army," which is invariably the product and forms the pillars of the capitalistic system. By a remarkable automatic adjustment these pillars expand with the expansion of the structure they support, and this army bears a direct ratio to the increase and growth of capital. The American workingman, then, finds himself on the very verge of utter starvation, a necessity for self-preservation arises, and being, as he is, accustomed to employ quack medicines and humbugs for the cure of his bodily ills, he readily grasps a quack medicine as the panacea for his economic evils. "Close the harbor, stop immigration, and you will be cured; you will have no competition, your wages will rise, your strikes will be successful, and prosperity will ensue. The best medicine ever known. Never fails to effect a perfect cure. Price: Freedom of the country;" read the directions on this panacea.

The capitalist, the very same gentleman who only a short while ago invited cheap foreign labor in order to fill up his reserve army, is now in favor of stopping immigration, fearing that an overflow will be too dangerous for his comfort, and, may be, entire existence. He also considers it a wise policy to get the workingmen off the track and direct their attention in the wrong direction while he is filling up his pockets. Thus the immigration question became the topic of the day.

Let me, therefore, analyze the new panacea and see whether it can do what is claimed for it. Will the condition of our workingmen be in any way ameliorated by stopping emigration?

Let me get at the root of the evil. Why is the workingman starving, why are his wages low, his strikes futile? Because, they say, the labor market is over-filled, because there is more labor than demand for it. This demand, as everybody knows, decreased not on account of decrease of industry; on the contrary, production increased manifold of late, while the demand for labor progressively decreases. This statement throws a different light on the whole situation. If the demand remained the same and the supply increased, we could look for the cause in an increase of population effected by immigration or otherwise, but the facts are that the DEMAND is constantly decreasing, and even assuming the supply to keep up its former proportions, it would still be increasing in inverse ratio to the demand. An additional increase of the supply does not affect the demand, it does not increase it, and it makes therefore no difference whether the surplus be 100, 200 or 1,000, so long as there is a surplus. An illustration will make this clear. Suppose there is a demand for 50 workingmen, and there are 100 on the market. Only 50 will be employed whether there are on the market 100, 200 or 300. This decrease of the demand is due, as again everybody knows, to the inventions of machinery which displace human labor, and forms a surplus-population, which is a sine qua non to capitalistic production. "The great beauty of capitalist production," says Marx in his Capital, "consists in this, that it not only constantly reproduces the wage-worker as wageworker, but produces always, in proportion to the accumulation of capital, a relative surplus population of wage-workers. Thus the law of supply and demand of labor is kept in the right rut, the oscillation of wages is penned within limits SATISFACTORY TO CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION, and lastly, the social dependence of the laborers on the capitalist, that indispensable requisite, is secured."

This surplus population, moreover, must be in a free state. At the time of slavery capitalist production on a large scale was impossible simply because a slave-owner could not keep any more slaves than he absolutely needed, as he had to feed them all the time, whether they worked or not. A reserve to him would be an expense he could not afford. But our capitalist can keep a large reserve army without any extra expense, and, moreover, he can use as many as he wants for as long a time as he wants. He requires that surplus population in order to get labor as cheap as possible. He actually does not create this surplus "to order" and put it in stock for future demands. The proletariat arises as an inevitable consequence to his demand for cheap labor, which finds its fulfillment in the introduction of machinery.

The capitalist introduces machinery not for the love of science, he cares little for the advance of technical science, nor is his aim to make production easier; his aim is to make it CHEAPER, and so long as he can get human labor at a low price he has no use for machinery. That is why machinery is not developed in such countries as Russia, where labor can be obtained at a minimum price. In a civilized country, however, the necessities of the laborer are more numerous, the cost of his subsistence therefore dearer, and his wages must be higher, and hence whenever the capitalist can introduce a machine which would make production cheaper, he invariably does so, and by so doing he displaces human labor and increases the idle proletariat.

Now then, stopping the immigration will not increase the demand and not benefit those that are perpetually and periodically out of work already.

"But," they say, "an over-filled labor market tends to decrease the wages of those that are employed, since there is a greater number of men that are willing to sell their labor power for any price rather than starve, and by limiting the surplus population we will limit the competition among the laborers." This argument has only apparent force. While it is true that the price of commodities is partially influenced by the fluctuations resulting from the relative proportion in the demand and supply, in this particular commodity—labor power—an altogether new factor, enters into consideration. The question is not simply how MUCH labor-power the capitalist finds on the market, but how CHEAP he can get it. Whether the supply be large or small makes little difference to the capitalist, for whenever he finds that he has to pay a high price for labor he gets a machine to displace it.

Moreover, we can readily see how the immigrants kept back from entering the labor-market of this country will still effect the wages of the American laborer. These immigrants, as I said before, are principally expropriated farmers. Suppose they are not allowed to enter this country. They will then increase the surplus population of Europe, this will affect the wages of European laborers, and make production of European goods cheaper. The American capitalist cannot and does not depend on the home market to sell his goods; he endeavors to enter the world market as a seller, but there he meets a strong competition. He must make his goods just as cheap or he has to leave the market. What will he do? He will either lower the wages of his workingmen, or, if that be impossible, introduce new machinery. For this very reason of our capitalist seeking the international market our so-called "protection!" while it protects certain isolated and undeveloped industries, is not applicable to the American trade as a whole. The developed industries, those that are entirely dependent on the international market, can not be protected by tariff, and nothing would prevent the entrance of European goods into our market. What is your panacea going to do?

There is one fact that the workingman should constantly bear in mind. Capitalism is international and labor is international, and the evils effecting the laborers of one nation affect likewise all others.

A. ROBIN.

Nailing a Single Taxer.

Mr. Miller, Single Taxer, rampant Jeffersonian, Individualist, and so on, met his match in the upper part of the city, near the headquarters of the Socialist Science Club, while speaking in the interests of that bugaboo capitalistic movement, "Association for the Public Control of Franchises," on the subject, "Municipal Ownership." Two Comrades from the club were the victors. They showed the audience in plain and unmistakable language the shallow arguments of the speaker by taking them apart, all of which was very much appreciated. They also put these questions: "Will municipal ownership abolish poverty and give work to the proletariat?" "Will not municipal ownership raise his rent and make his lot worse off than before?" Here are the answers. To the first, "It will not right off, but gradually," but how he did not explain. To the second, "Most assuredly not; his condition will improve. Look at Glasgow, Birmingham and Toronto, where municipal ownership is in vogue, and contrast the picture if you can, where it is not, especially in this city." And one of the Comrades accepted the challenge by giving his own opinions for these places while there, and proved without any trouble that the statement lacked truth.

M.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

N. Y. SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY.—Sunday afternoon lectures on Political, Social and Economic Questions. Admission free. At 100 Clinton street.
Dec. 26—"The Socialist Labor Party and Its Platform," Lecturer, A. S. Brown.
Those desiring information will be allowed to ask questions and to state

"REFORM."

How it is to Work Now and How it Should Work.

The Capitalist Class, in Power in Washington, Proposes to Retrench Expenses, not by Abolishing Useless Military and Naval Offices and Doing Away With the Large Number of Pensioners on the Retired List of Generals and Admirals, but by Abolishing Certain Offices in the Civil Service and Throwing the Superannuated Incumbents upon the Street.

Reform is rampant in Washington. How it rampants is worth noticing. By so doing one will learn, if he did not know it before, that the nature of reform depends wholly upon whom, or rather, what class holds the broom.

Expenditures are running high. Revenues are running low. Retrenchment naturally suggests itself; and the most natural way to go about it is to rid the government of supernumeraries. Now, then, of these there are not a few, but they are of two sorts.

One sort consists of officials who have never earned their salt; who have been pure and unadulterated sponges on the Government; who never directly or indirectly produced or helped to produce anything, contributed or helped to contribute anything to the public welfare. Among this class are Army and Naval Officers—our three Major-Generals, sixteen Brigadier-Generals, with their minor staffs; our six Rear-Admirals, ten Commodores, with their minor staffs—all of whom consume thousands of dollars of public plunder. But foremost among the supernumeries in this class are the "retired" officers. Of the others it may be said that they at least go through the show of performing some work; of the latter, however, not even that much can be said. Of these we have, in the Army, not less than twenty-nine Brigadier-Generals, four Major-Generals, and one Lieutenant-General, while the Navy furnishes of these doubly useless supernumeraries thirty-three Rear-Admirals, and at least eight Commodores. This precious "retired" set draws salaries ranging from $1,000 a year up to $5,625, running all told into hundreds of thousands of dollars. That's one set or sort of supernumeraries.

Another set consists of men who have grown old in the civil service of the land at low salaries, and are now so old that they can hardly attend to their work.

Say that the reform broom were put into the hands of that class of our people that really carries the nation on their shoulders; that feed, house and clothe the nation; that educate it and do its thinking;—say that the working class held the reform broom, how would it be plied? Can there be any doubt?

First, each and every one of the "retired" loafers who now draw big salaries on the strength of having drawn bigger ones some time before, would be abolished, and with them would be abolished the whole crew of the "active" ones. That would be a reform worth making; that would be retrenchment to a purpose; the funds thus saved would run up into the millions, and besides that, a useless set of people would be compelled to become useful if they would live, and, if they refused to become useful, would be compelled to starve themselves out of existence. A sensible, a humane reform would then approach the case of the superannuated. It would retire them; that is to say, it would relieve them from further toil after their long life of toil, and would protect their old age by adequate pensions.

Now, then, how does reform work in the hands of the class that now controls the Government? Just the reverse. The useless officers now "active" are left untouched; the useless ones on the "retired" list are left untouched—their salaries are to continue. But the hard-worked old civil service employees, whose salaries never were high, whose duties always were hard, and whose old age now incapacitates them from working, are to be thrown out and their places abolished!

* * *

And the reason of all this? Is it that capitalism loves to pay salaries to idle officials? No. The secret lies in this that the military may at any time be needed by the robber class of capitalists to protect it in its power. Herein lies a deep joke. When that time shall come, the capitalist class will find that the first ones to run will be the identical "warriors" whom now they are keeping in salaries and high living.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

THE PEOPLE'S NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

THE PEOPLE will this year have a very artistic and beautifully designed New Year Greeting, symbolizing the aggressiveness of our movement.

The central figure is that of a workman with the hammer in his uplifted hand, flanked by two female figures, representing Freedom and Revolution. There are many other notable features, producing all together a highly attractive and impressing ensemble.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	**54,159**

Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. When you have launched your spear through the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Benton, every whig and democrat feels it. It is on this principle that every reform must take for its text the mistakes of great men.

Wendell Phillips.

THE SAME OLD CORPSE IN A NEW SHROUD.

Just before adjourning, the so-called Convention of the so-called American Federation of Labor adopted the following resolution:

"That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trades unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party; that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth."

All along the attitude of this "A. F. of L." has been the attitude known as "Pure and Simple," to wit, that labor needs no political organization, and can obtain all its demands, satisfy all its aspirations, by organizing itself purely and simply upon economic lines. In days long gone by and in climes far from ours, so false a position could and did find its apology in pure and simple ignorance; in our own days, however, and our own clime, this position has been directly traceable to and productive of pure and simple corruption; it is nothing less than impurity and duplicity. Its workings told its tale.

The pure and simpler was ever the last one to leave politics alone; in point of fact politics is the breath of his nostrils. With the regularity of clockwork, at every recurring election, his name appears, with his title of "President," "Secretary," or what not of some labor organization attached thereto, as the endorser of some capitalist politician or other, whom he "recommends to the workingmen" as a "staunch friend of labor." We are all familiar with the signatures of these pure and simplers to such documents; they are a feature of campaigns; no doubt, from Gompers down or up, the cuts of their signatures are held ready for use in the capitalist's papers; and the consideration for such endorsements are found in the political jobs held by these worthies, their sons, relatives and cronies.

Read and interpreted by the light of these undeniable facts, "pure and simpledom" does not mean a denial of the element of politics in the labor movement; on the contrary, the element of politics is recognized and used for all that it is worth. What it means, on the subject of politics, is that the labor vote shall not be consolidated in such manner as to render it valueless to the labor fakir, but shall be used and consolidated in such manner as to enable the labor fakir to traffic on it.

Hence the violent opposition of this gentry to "partisan" politics. The establishment of a labor party means the organization of the workers on a plan that precludes the hope of their voting for any but their own party candidates. Such "partisanism" would cut off the labor fakirs' income from political sources. No labor party candidate would give a cent for the "endorsement" of any labor fakir or of the whole crew combined; his endorsement he gets at his nomination from his own, the labor party that sets him up; there is nothing from that quarter for the fakir. On the other hand, what capitalist politician would give a copper for the fakirs' endorsement, when he knows that the labor vote which they are expected to deliver can not be delivered, it having become "partisan" to its own political programme? Honorable politics is ratbane to the fakir; he must have dishonorable politics. This is attainable only upon "non-partisan" lines. Then he can endorse, or, to put it in English, sell out simultaneously to all the parties of capital.

Thus did things stand before; thus they stand to-day after the adoption of the resolution in question. The fakir feels the undertow that is pulling him to perdition; he feels the strength of the current that is battering into wrecks his pure and simple hull. The masses are awakening to such a sense of class-consciousness that the old style union can not resist. "Political and Economic Organization" is the rising note in the storm that is approaching. In these straits, the pure and simple crew of pirates drop the old winding sheet of "No Politics" in which the Pure and Simple Corpse was shrouded, and wind their old corpse in the new shroud of "Non-partisan politics."

But the stench of the old corpse deprives the new shroud of any chance of deceiving anybody.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Prof. Green Goods' reputation is going westward, ho! The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," organ of the Central Labor Union of that city, has this to say of him:

"Green Good Gunton, in his 'Magazine,' has laid down the lines that separate the conservative and radical trade unionists very clearly. It would require no other proof than that his article on 'Growth of Trade Unionism'—in which not a line or figure appears that demonstrates the correctness of the title—is being copied by such conservative organs as the Official Record, of Albany, N. Y. The labor organizations are formed, we are told, purely and simply to raise wages and reduce working hours by means of the strike, and 'the moment a labor organization neglects these fields of endeavor, and becomes an organ of revolutionary theories of social reconstruction, such as Socialism or the Single Tax, it ceases to be a legitimate trades union.'"

"A judge is simply to judge. He is to have judgment, not will. He is to hear and determine, not to execute. All attempts to impose executive functions on him he is bound to resist, because he owes his full time, ability and reputation to the people of the State, whose rights, under the constitution and the laws, he has to pass on."

What country does this refer to? Sweet Arcadia, or some other paradisiacal region?

It refers to the United States of America, to the country where judges have assumed the highest executive functions, to wit, military functions, as they did in Chicago when they manufactured, trained, loaded and fired off their "Gatling guns on paper."

And what paper may that be that is so ignorant of this fact and still theorizes upon what a judge should be?

It is the New York "Evening Post," which, as loud as, if not louder than any of the mouthpieces of our prostituted judiciary, celebrated the "wisdom," "patriotism," "Americanism" and "rectitude" of the "Gatling guns on paper" executive judges!

What paper may the following slap in the face of the political and other anti-Socialist Labor party fakir crew proceed from?

"The Socialist Labor party of the State of Ohio has organized, since July 1 of this year, 30 new Sections, mostly American; and in Haverhill, Mass., the candidate of the Socialist Labor party, James F. Carey, was elected on the 8th of December. All this shows that Socialism in this country makes good progress—all quarrelers and prophets of evil notwithstanding."

Surely this must come from some thorough paced S. T. & L. A or some S. L. P. organ.

No. It appears in the Indianapolis, Ind., "Deutsch-Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung"!!!

Can it be that the "pure and simple" editor was caught napping by some alert and secret straight out S. L. P. assistant in the office.

We are ready to hear that the wicked writer of that squib was expelled as a "union wrecker."

The Rochester, N. Y., "Socialist" says well:

"An article in 'The Social Democrat' of November 11; says:

"'Members of the Social Democracy will do well to exercise care in the matter of class-consciousness. If it is not done with understanding it may do mischief and also obscure the very fact that makes the difference between our organization and that of the Socialist Labor party.'

"We are very thankful to 'The Social Democrat' for this timely enlightenment as to the difference. It enables us to account for the tomfoolery schemes of that effervescent organization.

"Class-consciousness has always been and will always be, the ballast of the Socialist Labor party to keep it from flying off like some crazy thing to the polar regions of the frozen north to get away from its capitalistic enemy; and from trying to coax the capitalists into its ranks to fight against themselves.

The class-consciousness of the Socialist Labor party is right down where it belongs—in the heart of each member. When the members of the Social Democracy get in the same place they will be in the ranks of the Socialist Labor party too. Without this ballast in the right place their ship of progress will be top-heavy, and must finally topple over and collapse. The Socialist Labor party realizes the fact that some rich men have come over to its ranks; but these men have been, in every instance, deep and logical searchers after the true causes of social inequalities and class distinctions, and have made great sacrifices for the cause of human progress. Any upper or middle class persons who are worth having in its ranks will find their own way there along the line of common sense; the Socialist Labor party will never sacrifice its class-consciousness and climb over into the enemy's camp to find recruits. If this is what the Social Democracy is doing, it does not require a prophet to tell where it will end."

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" touches the right cord on tactics in this passage:

"It is useless to hope to induce the masses to undertake the overthrow of our social system by pointing out one single instance, or even a few, of the striking hardships it entails. The minds of men are indeed in a state akin to topsy-turviness through constant association with the false standards of the present system. Still they are not so unbalanced that they can be enticed into massing their forces for the abolition of a few of the monstrous iniquities of capitalism, and gloss over and save harmless the countless others with which the former are inseparably entwined.

"Candor and self-reliance are the sinews for the struggle against capitalism. Mankind scorns cowardice and they will never be found fighting long the battles of those who would deal out Socialism in homoeopathic doses or stray from the high road into mazy by-paths. Courage and honesty are sure to win success. Dishonesty and timidity obtain in the end nothing but failure and contempt."

The Sidney, Australia, "Worker" is scenting the real scab and exposes the anatomy of scabbing to perfection

"The blackleg may be and is despicable, but we have no business to expect too much heroism from human nature. After all, what is the man in a billet but a blackleg if he doesn't trouble himself a snap of the fingers about the man that's out? He only holds his position for the same reason as the recognized blackleg—namely, that for the time being it suits the capitalist better to employ him and let the other fellow starve."

Under the head: "Bourgeois Scholarship and 'Dangerous Doctrines'", the London "Justice" illustrates how scholarship is descending to blacking the boots of capitalism. The article is introduced with these suggestive words:

"We are living, it would seem, in an age in which class interest not merely shapes the policy of the statesman and the coat of the party politician, but enters as a distinct factor into the theories of the scholar. The man of learning nowadays is keen to scent the possible applications of an otherwise harmless-looking doctrine or fact and still keener to note the actual part played by such doctrine or fact in the theory of modern Socialism. After having discovered that it does play a part, he no longer hesitates to set about attempting to undermine it or at best cast doubt doubt upon it. This he evidently considers to be his duty to the class which necessarily furnishes the chief readers of his books and hearers of his lectures."

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Guess 'Tis.

To THE PEOPLE:—The "Oracle," of Boston, Mass., says: "To live a pure, simple and useful life. To make no complaints regarding the lot in which we find ourselves, but to look continually WITHIN for the cause and source of all inharmony. Believing that through a pure life of regeneration—as taught in W. G. Philosophy (and as before taught by the master Jesus) new and more congenial environment will evolve from present chaos as soon as WE are fitting for the change."

Is not this the worst kind of rot; to tell people to live pure and simple and useful lives under present conditions is like telling the maggots on a decayed carcass to be fragrant and sweet. A.

Lincoln, Neb., Dec. 21.

Reminiscences of Haverhill.

To THE PEOPLE:—Permit me, through your columns, to offer my hearty congratulations to my Comrades of the International S. L. P. in Haverhill, Mass., U. S. A., on their recent victory at the municipal contest in their city, as reported in THE PEOPLE of 19th instant.

I am specially interested to note the development of our work in this particular city, because Haverhill has a warm place in my affections, economic and otherwise.

Haverhill, Mass., U. S. A., was founded some 250 and more years since by a pioneer from Haverhill, then a village in the eastern counties of England. Some few years ago (about 1890) Haverhill, Mass., held a big celebration in honor of its 250th birthday, and my Comrades will remember the visit of the wealthy English manufacturer and gentleman, who was deputed by the citizens of Haverhill, England, to accept the invitation of the Massachusetts city to represent the mother town on that anniversary.

I refer to this fact because it may possibly be of interest to our Comrades to know that I was 14 years in the factory (employing some 3,000 hands) in Haverhill, England, of which the representative citizen, who was in 1890 the guest of Haverhill, Mass., was the head. That factory was the school in which I began to study practical though "heterodox economics." I began my career in the factory at the early age of 8 years, and, owing to peculiar circumstances, I was not a half-timer; and never attended school again after the day (I well remember it) when my father passed me "WITHIN THE GATES." I was 14 years in the employ of the Haverhill manufacturers, and left them to gain experiences on this continent. It delights my heart to see Haverhill (a name so interwoven in my experiences on economic lines) coming to the front, and with genuine pleasure I re-echo your "Bravo! Haverhill."

HENRY B. ASHPLANT.

London, Ont., Canada, Dec. 20th.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SOME MENTAL PHENOMENA.

By PETER E. BURROWS.

There are certain fundamental laws of the human mind which we cannot get rid of even to help the cause of true Americanism. Thus:

In contemplating, say a hundred millions of people, you want to group or classify them if you are going to contemplate them, mind you, instead of staring at them. Some inevitable distinctions even the most satiated, self-satisfied possessor of the fruits of free competition will admit. There are blacks and whites in America. The blacks will never become whites, or (begging the pardon of an eminent colored bishop), the whites will never become black.

There are also some fat drones and hungry toilers. Of them it may be said they will drone and toil to the end except something breaks or the bottom falls out of something. This is only psychology. "There are no classes in America."

Now, remember, I am only speaking of mental processes and not of the conditions of the people of the States. It seems to the human mind, I claim no more, that if three or four out of the seventy millions here are able to set all our other millions to make wealth for them, and are in a position to carry it all home as fast as it is made, leaving the producers only the price of rags and bread, and are further able to continue this process from one generation to another, leaving all the home-carried wealth to their own children, while the children of their former toilers continue to make wealth and surrender it also (as their fathers did before them):—it seems, I say, to the human mind that these are two distinct classes of people, even if you only call them fools and rogues. But this distinction is only in the human mind—not in America.

Having thus patriotically freed this favored soil of ours from the stigma of raising or fostering class distinctions, and having convinced you that chronic labor and chronic idleness, chronic poverty and chronic riches, chronic rags and chronic finery, are but mental phenomenon, there are, clear marked as day offence, declare that, as a mental phenomena, there are, clear marked as day from night, as shadow from sunshine, two classes fixed, with a great gulf between them, in America—the proletariat and their lords. That as there cannot be two summers in one year, neither can these two be prosperous together in the same land at the same time. But this is only a mental phenomenon, for there are no class distinctions in America.

Of course if Socialists were not afflicted with mental activity these apparently terrible class antagonisms and irreconcilable interests would not be.

If, like their lords, the rich and patriotic men of the banks and exchanges, they would only stop thinking and devote themselves exclusively to the interests of personal success and dollarizing, these merely mental class distinctions would not phenomenate. Every pauper would be poetically endowed with potential riches and every pauper's son seated in the Presidential chair. But it seems also that there is thus a class of men who think on behalf of society, and a class who don't think on any behalf but stealing.

But as we lick creation in everything else, it is but consistent that we should lick her in the strength and muscular development of our mistakes. On the broad, yielding, willing back of this one single blunder (that we must work for other people, although there is no compulsion outside of our own minds), behold what shining mountains of exalted idleness we carry! No parasitic investor, however timid at home, has any fear to take a seat on this meek elephant's back. Yet according to the patriotic-politico-economist, it is but an elephantine error on the part of the American laborer. He has only to give the handle bar of his collection of ideas a strong round turn, and he becomes a capitalist. Yet he doesn't! Let no man henceforth say this is purely a materialistic age with this universal submission to a burdensome idea before him, producing results just the same as if the people were compelled to work, and there really were two classes in America when there isn't.

If labor were under no necessity to remain at the crank it should go to the bank. I want to go there, but what's the use of it. This is what I think; so I remain away. Such is the power of mind over facts. By thrift any man may rise to riches, yet though fifty per cent. of our people never know any other condition but thrift they actually remain in poverty! Such is the tremendous force of a mistaken idea.

This delusion as to the security and permanence of our class distinctions here is, strange to say, not confined to ourselves. On the strength of it all foreign capital is invested in us. No investor apprehending for a moment that our people would throw off the bonds of this mental nightmare and make a run on the banks from the cranks. The Atlantic is crowded with investors who believe that American labor is going to stay—where it is.

For the first time it thus is made apparent that labor is no longer selling its muscle and its sweat, but its muscle. Formerly this was thought to be the thing brought to market by the capitalist. Now it is evident that Labor deals more in ideas than in its masters. The difference is only this: that Labor brings a false idea into the market. He thinks he must when he mustn't. And he gets a dollar a day for this topsy turvey mental phenomena.

Let us for simplicity's sake regard Labor and Service as a series of ideas personified.

An idea, with a very thin pair of legs, and a thin pair of breeches, leaves a thinly covered bed at 6 o'clock of a winter morning when it could have so easily stayed where it was, and sent some other idea out for a lot of new blankets; leaves its bed simply because it is an idea of apprehension that wife and children and self will be hungry if it don't rise and go out on the shiver for work.

These dollars of mine, too, are but ideas. Of course I am thankful to feel that they are my own ideas, and that they are safely deposited in the bank vaults and in good negotiable stock. With such ideas I am content, even though I have no others. But the Socialist will have it that cold is cold and hunger is hunger real and real, and that they who constantly suffer from these evils, and they who never experience anything of them whatsoever, are not the same people that they differ in fact, and whereas it is only in the old countries that they constitute two classes, they constitute only two delusive groups of mental conditions on the free, glorious and independent soil of Hail Columbia.

Talk of the reign of law! This is nothing but the reign of fancy all round. The self named business man who mistakes a hard-hearted for a hard-headed career, commonly charges the Socialist with being a mere idealist, understanding by the condition idealist one of subjection to a mere idea. Yet no more astonishingly persistent bondage to a delusion can be found in the annals of experience than that of a modern American, who, with his own open eyes, sees the life around him and yet persists that there is a way upwards for every active man, and room enough on top for all. This is idealism moving around in the body of a hog. A mental delusion without one bright tint; a brainless idealism, which could not exist outside a profitmonger's mind.

There are multitudes of ideas in the world which are only fit to dig coals out for our winter fires and to shovel snow, etc. They are here around about us for some other people's purposes, if not for their own. It behooves us, therefore, to utilize their presence and make what money out of them we may.

Now when you are advertising a sale of cheap winter clothing take one of those bi-manual bipedal ideas and stick a poster on its back and another on its breast and let it walk, walk, walk. No hoarding, no stationary post, can be compared to this moveable idea as an advertising medium. The red, white and blue tints of its pinched-up patriotic face at once suggests the comfort and necessity of winter clothing to the passerby. It may be for this (for God is good) that Providence has created so many poor, moneyless people, and sent them to live in our great commercial centres.

Other uses may be made of these personifications. Do you sell leg protectors or rubber stockings for varicose veins? You can buy a real live leg (with the rest of one of these apparent men attached to it) whereon to display your article, walking up and down in front of your store for little more than it would cost you to provide painted sign boards for your neighbors' bonfires. You can exhibit almost any article of human attire on these useful phenomena that have been made in the image and after the likeness of ourselves, no doubt for such business purposes. But if you keep a saloon or a restaurant, do not, I warn you, exhibit the effects of your wares upon them. It may only make them real boisterous and fat. In dealing with the poor ideas observe this law:

Keep them hungry, keep them keen;
And they'll keep your gutters clean.

There are, if you could but extract them, thousands of dollars inside the skins of every ragged-bimanual-biped idea that walks your streets. If you wish them to fit yourself for survival, or to be a survival to fit, you will be daily thinking how to get those dollars out of those skins. You can set them to make things for you, or take things for you, or sell things for you. They can lift and carry things for you. They can count things, watch things, see things, feel things, smell things and hear things for you. (Don't let them taste things for you except in cases of suspected poison). They can also swear things for you, read and understand things for you, and, though they can fight and vote, they are willing, for ever and ever, to be things for you. It would, therefore, be very foolish if you did not make use of these things.

Should you desire to make your son a doctor, and it is a money-making business, the young man will soon discover many uses for these bi-manual bipeds. They have hearts, lungs and livers like ourselves—strange to say—just as perfect, kind Providence being resolved to give us nothing short of genuine samples to practise upon, for the good of our precious health. Now, how fortunate. Here you can try new anti-rabies remedies on them, with more satisfaction than upon rabbits. You can inoculate them with consumption, small-pox, cholera and so forth, and if it works, all right. If it kills, then—all you have to do is not to take it. You can let them thread the way of every disease before you; so that you may step safely over your own grave. And when they are dead you can get lessons in anatomy off the remnants.

Is your son a lawyer? Then he may take up cases for these poor things and practise oratory in the courts for them until he has quite got over his court fright. Of course he will lose his clients' causes, but then he will gain his own.

Is he about to be a politician? He can practise at the bar of any saloon on the votability of these automatic citizens. Let him observe the effects of a given quantity of rum on them. How much it takes to bring them to the lowest bribe and a real vote. How much of it will make them susceptible to the influence of that gift of eloquence your son may be endowed with. If he also makes a careful study in hand-shaking and learns the names of the biped's children and other trifles that cost him nothing; then a little more rum and a few more dollars at election time will take him to the Assembly.

Do you intend to make your son a minister? So accommodating and thoughtful has Providence been that he has actually endowed these things (at least for this present experimental life), with souls. They hope, they fear, they know how to seem glad and to be moved even to the opening of the lachrymal glands by eloquent sermons. In fact they experience everything connected with the soul-saving process except the actual salvation itself, which Providence could not consistently grant where he gave so little before. Thus your son has a crop of standing corn to try the scythe of his denunciations upon. A crop of hearts to melt, of understandings to convince, of consciences to awaken. Then he can take a Fifth avenue pulpit and apply his practised powers to real souls, who have a real prospect of getting to heaven.

(Continued on Page 3.)

Brother Jonathan—What's all this we are hearing about "the partition of China"?

Uncle Sam—Not unlike what our fathers heard about "the partition of Poland."

B. J.—Nonsense! Poland was a turbulent neighbor. The safety of her neighbors was constantly endangered by her disorderly conduct. They had to quell her riotous disposition. The best way to do that was to cut her up, partition her among themselves. But that's not the case with China. Neither Germany, France nor England are at her frontiers. Why should they go out of their way to partition her? I don't understand that.

U. S.—That comes from your not being able to see the identity of things despite difference of appearance.

B. J.—"Appearance"? "Identity!"—I see nothing of the sort.

U. S.—Whether a person is so near to you that he troubles you, or whether you move so near to him that his ways inconvenience you—it is all the same. German, French, English and other merchants and their missionaries who deal in China are as near to the Chinese as the neighbors of Poland were to Poland. See?

B. J.—But that is a rascally way of justifying a rascality.

U. S.—I am not justifying anything. I'm only stating the facts, and explaining the pretexts for "partitions." If a brood of robbers want a pretext to ride your pockets they will find it. The "riotousness" of old Poland is of a piece with the complaints against China.

THE WORKING DAY.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by BYRON EFFORD Beachmont, Mass.

"Aid enlightenment, and the falchion of the Socialist proletariat wheezes through the air."—THE PEOPLE.

Intelligence and Ignorance met on the
world's highway,
The latter to the former spake: "Sir,
what is a WORKING DAY?"

"For many weeks and months
years I've turned the probl
Not knowing if its hours be eight,
ten, or twelve, or more.

"Our simple union in its laws procla
in sessions late
That a working day for capital mu
hours number eight.

"But this to me seems dull and vague,
emitting no bright ray,
And once again the question seek:
'What is a WORKING DAY?'"

Intelligence with twinkling eye gazed
on the querist's brow;
While honied truth fell from the lips
like dew drops from the bough.

"Sir, our social structure rests upon a
principle unwise,
Where human power is valued as all
common merchandise;

"For in the markets of the world it's
determined but the same,
By now a so-called 'natural law,' which
economists do name.

"You must sell yourself, all muscular
strength and skill,
Your laboring force, a purchased slave,
to capital's sweet will,

"For a certain sum per day, per week,
thou evermore must strive,
Until the Socialist bugle's blow o'er
river, hill and drive.

"It is not the maintenance normal of
this your labor power,
Which the limits do determine of this
thy working hour;

"But the daily fierce expenditure, all
painful and morose,
Which determines full the limits of the
laborer's repose.

"Since ALL your TIME disposeable is
labor time, indeed,
Devoted to the expansion of capital and
greed;

"Since all your power is labor power, in
this your whole life's span,
Food is merely to thee given for pro-
duction means to fan.

"As coal unto the boiler, as oil to ma-
chinery driven;
So food and restoration to the labor-
slave is given;

"All periods for healthy growth; yea,
thy Sunday resting time,*
Are mere shows, without a substance,
pure essence of moonshine.

"Then to thy question, madly blind
Capital must roar:
'The hours of thy working day contains
full TWENTY-FOUR.'"

* In Beachmont town, a few months ago, a laborer was fined ten dollars or thirty days imprisonment, for desecrating the Sabbath, by painting his dory boat. That same laborer would lose his position if he does not work every other Sunday for his manufacturing aristocratic employers in Boston. The ears of Capitalism will hear nothing of Sabbath-breaking if it occurs in the process of expanding Capital.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

ITALY.

Cut up into small kingdoms and principalities, subject for many centuries to the invasion of powerful neighbors, ill-cultivated, deprived of manufacturing industry, declining in commerce, misruled by foreign and domestic despots, Italy, fifty years ago, had only one thought, one aspiration, namely, political unity and national independence.

True, there were already, in those days some large-hearted Italians whose intellectual horizon was not confined by a narrow patriotism; men who—like Garibaldi, for instance—had been enlisted by the Utopian Socialists of France in the cause of social emancipation. But such were few and as yet powerless. To free Italy from foreign domination, to make her at last one great political aggregate, instead of the mere "geographical expression" that she had been for ages, was of necessity the life-work of those men, who realized, however, that a national field would thus be opened, on which the class struggle would in future be carried on to its logical termination.

On the other hand, there were many cold-blooded and calculating, whose mercantile interests demanded also that Italy be one. For such men, under such circumstances, freedom, humanity, patriotism, and even internationalism, were more than commendable sentiments; they were convenient words and useful instruments. If a revolution was necessary to bring about the desired result, by all means let there be a revolution. Let the people be told, by some bold tribune and lavish promiser, of their shocking misery, and of the increased rewards for decreased toil that must surely follow the substitution of an economical, peaceful, fatherly middle-class management for the wasteful, turbulent, arbitrary government of kings and emperors. In 1789, the French bourgeoisie had shown the way; nor had there been a lack of bold tribunes and grand revolutionists in those days who, by stirring the wretched masses with vistas of happiness, upheaved the old despotism and established the new.

In Mazzini not, perhaps, as soon as he appeared, but soon after, when he had cast away, as more dangerous than useful, the dagger of the Carbonari—the Italian bourgeoisie recognized its man.

Of course, he had first to gain the ear of the masses—to make himself a man of commanding popularity; which he did by borrowing the language of the most advanced Socialists of his time. Hear what he said in 1835:

"Heretofore all revolutionary attempts failed because the leaders spoke to the people of national independence and political rights, forgetting that in its essence every revolution is social. Any new political regime is but the 'form' of the social change that has taken place; and no man can rightfully call upon millions of his fellows to sacrifice peace and life without presenting to them a definite programme of collective improvement, both moral and economic."

And what was the "definite programme" of Mazzini? We have it in manifestoes of his secret societies, "Young Italy" and "New Europe," the former of which aimed at nothing less than the International, Universal Republic.

"Men, you are human beings and, as such, have faculties not only physical, but intellectual and moral, which it is your duty to cultivate. * * * It is plain that you must work less and earn more. Sons of God and brothers all, we are called upon to form one family. In that family there will always be the inequalities intended by nature, but any one willing to work and thus contribute within his ability to the social welfare, shall receive a compensation that will enable him to develop and enjoy life in all its aspects. * * * Property must be democratized. The wage system must disappear, and the workman must receive the full value of the product of his labor."

From such utterances it would be logical to conclude that Mazzini was ready to fight on the side of the proletariat along the natural lines of the class struggle, and therefore to comprise the bourgeoisie among the enemies of the people. But in his addresses to the middle class he held another language, replete with friendly warnings and valuable advice. He called its attention to the popular discontent in France and in England, which frequently manifests itself by violent outbreaks and still more ominously by the publication of newspapers and pamphlets "actually issued from the pens of bona-fide wage workers." His conclusion was suggestive: "Beware! Events are impending, and you may have to regret that you did not in time undertake to direct them. The laboring people are kindly; they will confidently follow men of your class. On the day of their victory over our military rulers they may tell you: 'What have you done for us? Have we fought to merely conquer rights for you?'"

In other words, "Make timely concessions, so that such men as I, issued from your class and devoted to your interests, may take the lead of the simple, trusting proletariat and cheat it out of the benefits of its dearly bought victory."

Could there have been any doubts as to the meaning of Mazzini's language and his true purpose, they would have been removed by his subsequent conduct. In 1848, the Parisian proletariat expelled the French king and proclaimed the Social Democratic Republic. It "confidently" placed middle-class leaders at the head of the new government—a government which, according to Mazzini's expression quoted above, should have been the mere "form" of the social change intended by the revolution. But within less than four months this government shot down the Parisian proletariat and confiscated its revolution. Mazzini, who at that time was plotting the dethronement of the Catholic Pope and his own enthronement at Rome as the pope of the International Bourgeoisie, applauded the dastardly performance, approved its murderous features and bitterly denounced its victims. Again, in 1871, from a London boudoir overflowing with female aristocracy, Mazzini poured a torrent of insults upon the vanquished and bleeding Commune.

Irony of fate! It was this very same French middle class republic which Mazzini had so warmly congratulated for its treachery to the proletariat that sent an army to Rome and expelled him. And it was chiefly by two emperors, for the benefit of a king, that the national unity of Italy was achieved. Lastly, the patriotic forces, those to which, outside of the French and German emperors, Italy is indebted for being a nation—the only forces, in fact, to which she is indebted for being a self-conscious, progressive body—marched under the banner of Garibaldi, electrified by the Socialistic spirit of universal solidarity that made him the great man he was, and nerved to deeds of heroism by his Socialistic faith in the final triumph of humanity.

During his dictatorship at Rome, Mazzini had an opportunity of showing his true colors as a social-economic reformer; and he did show them. He showed that he was simply, like the French revolutionists of 1789, a "Voltairean bourgeois" (a middle-class deist), intent upon reinforcing his emancipated class against the wage-working proletariat by incorporating the peasantry into the bourgeoisie. Having confiscated the property of the Church, he turned into tenements the buildings formerly occupied by the priesthood and rented them to such of the Roman workmen or artisans who could afford to pay, in order, as he said, "to give an example of republican morality." At the same time, he divided among the peasants the landed estates of the religious corporations, in the proportion of four acres of arable land and two acres of vineyard for each agricultural family. Such was his conception of the "democratization of property" and of the "right of each worker to the full value of his product."

Confiscated in France and sidetracked in Italy, the Social Revolution of 1848 disappeared under a wave of military despotism. The press was bridled, speech was muzzled, thought was stifled, physical motion itself was placed under restraint, and a vent was given to the activities of the people by war and speculative enterprise.

Of course, under such conditions, the propagation of economic truth was well nigh impossible. Not until the unity of Italy was an accomplished fact and all questions purely political had sunk into comparative insignificance, could the social problem command again in that country any degree of attention. It was at the congress of the International Workingmen's Association held at Lausanne in 1867—or three years after the foundation of that body—that Italy was for the first time represented in its councils, and by one delegate only.

Most unfortunately, the task of organizing the Italian movement was chiefly assumed by the Russian Bakunin, whose cloudy notions of Socialism, nihilistic methods, imperious will and boundless ambition led to the development of a factitious opposition to Karl Marx. By nature, as it were, and long practice, Bakunin was a secret conspirator. With science to guide him at every step, Marx was an open agitator. The first insanely or dishonestly professed that a revolution by force, sweeping and destructive, "an unchaining of what we have been taught to call the bad passions,"* was the primary and immediate requirement of social regeneration. The second held it to be an established fact that education was the prerequisite of any social change, regardless of the means by which, according to circumstances, the change might subsequently happen to be effected, and that no attempt to emancipate a class could succeed until that class, fully enlightened, mentally clear, therefore, as to its aims, and conscious of its power, was ready to emancipate itself.

Held as in a vise by the inexorable logic of this undeniable fact, Bakunin did not attempt to controvert it. On the contrary, in his programme of the "Revolutionary International Brothers (section 10), he plainly admitted that "revolutions are not made by individuals, nor even by secret societies," but through the operation of forces that have long been at work until a trifling event may cause them to break out; whereupon he straightway proceeded with his scheme of secret societies within each other—a scheme by the side of which Loyola's creation fades into nothingness, and the purpose of which was, in the words of that famous section 10, "to aid the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding with their instincts, and to organize, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people—but a sort of revolutionary staff, composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent individuals, sincere friends of the people, neither ambitious nor conceited, and capable of being the intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts."

As already stated, the "revolutionary idea" was universal "destruction," and the "popular instincts" were what we have been taught to call the "bad passions."

The "staff" was to be the absolutely secret body of not more than one hundred "Revolutionary International Brothers," men "who must have the devil in them" (le diable au corps) and constituted into a "central section" of another society, half secret, half public, namely the "International Alliance," through which the great International Workingmen's Association founded by Karl Marx was to be captured and turned into the much needed "army," the rank and file, the fighting cattle. Of the "sincere friends of the people," the most "devoted, energetic, intelligent individual," the most "capable of being the intermediary between 'destruction' and 'bad passions,'" was unquestionably "Citizen B." To him, therefore, the members of the Central Executive Board "delegated their powers" and went to their respective homes with the devil in them. For (section 9) "this organization excludes all idea of dictature and tutelage; but, in order to secure the triumph of the revolution, it is necessary that in the midst of the popular anarchy from which the revolution will derive its whole life and energy, unity of thought and action be obtained through an organ;" and although this indispensable organ was to be the "staff" above mentioned, any sort of a staff must have a general.

With one stroke of his pen thus had Bakunin—the high priest of anarchy, the would-be destroyer, not merely of any concrete State in particular, but of the "State in the abstract" (that is, as Marx observed, of a thing that does not exist)—constructed the pattern and laid the foundations of what was to be, in his own self-contradictory words (section 8), the "New and Revolutionary STATE." And at the head of that State, more infallible than the Pope, more absolute than the Tzar, was "Citizen B," safely enthroned at Geneva while his devil-possessed ("diable au corps") ministers were stirring the popular instincts, the "bad passions," in their respective circles of Inferno.

After several fruitless attempts on the part of the Alliance to be recognized by the International Workingmen's Association as an affiliated but autonomous body, Bakunin, on June 22, 1869, made to the General Council of the I. W. A. a formal declaration that the Alliance had dissolved itself and invited its organizations to convert themselves into Internationalist Sections. These were consequently admitted. But the declaration was a fraud. The secret organization had not been dissolved, and the "invisible Brothers" undertook to make themselves omnipresent. Nevertheless, at the Congress of Basle a few months later, Bakunin and his acolytes found themselves in a hopeless minority.

The nature of things, the field of action of the conspirators had from the beginning been chiefly limited to Italy and Spain, and remained mostly confined to those two countries. In selecting Italy for his first operations Bakunin had evinced an amount and kind of acumen which obviously fitted him for his self-appointed task better, perhaps, than for any other that might have been assigned to him. This was, indeed, the classical land of conspiracies without number and without results. The necessary tools to work with could be found there in even greater abundance than the material to work upon. In a letter to Francisco Mora, of Madrid, dated April 5, 1872, he showed his keen appreciation of this fact. "Until now," he said, "not the instincts (the bad passions, of course) but the organization and the idea were what Italy was lacking in. Both are developing, so that Italy, next to Spain (mark the well-directed flattery), is perhaps the most revolutionary country at this time. There is here what is wanting elsewhere, namely, an ardent youth, energetic, without opportunity, without prospect, which despite its middle-class parentage is not morally and intellectually worn out as is the middle-class youth of other nationalities. To-day it plunges headlong into the revolution, with the whole of our programme, the programme of the Alliance. Mazzini, our general and powerful antagonist, is practically dead; the Mazzinian party is completely disorganized, and Garibaldi allows himself to be more and more carried away by that youth which has taken his name but goes, or, rather, runs infinitely farther than he does."

Manifestly, it was "in correspondence with the instincts" of this middle-class youth that in his programme of the Alliance Bakunin had substituted the idea, "equalization of the classes," for the radically opposite idea, "abolition of the classes," in the programme of the International.*

The great political events of 1870—71, namely, the Franco-German war, the fall of Napoleon III. and the Paris Commune, interrupted for a while the outward development of the conflict between the regular International forces and the Alliance. During that period, however, Bakunin and his followers secretly improved to their utmost the opportunities afforded by the revolutionary ferment of the times to extend the ramifications of their society in the Swiss Jura, in Italy, and in Spain. The existence of the Alliance in the latter country was publicly made known by some of its members in the spring of 1871, and, shortly after, a profound sensation was caused by the revelations of the Netchaieff trial at St. Petersburg. "For the first time in Russia the judicial proceedings in a political case were publicly conducted before a jury. The accused, men and women, eighty in number, with a few exceptions were university students. From November, 1870, to July, 1871, they had been subjected in the dungeons of the St. Petersburg fortress to a treatment which had killed two of them, and deprived several others of their reason. The charges against them were that they belonged to a secret society, which had usurped the name of the International Workingmen's Association, and to which they had been affiliated by the emissary of a so-called international revolutionary committee. The credentials of this emissary, whose name was Netschaieff, bore a seal that purported to be the seal of the International and were signed 'Michael Bakunin.' He (Netschaieff) had used his victims in the commission of various swindles and had compelled several of them to aid him in the perpetration of a murder upon one of their own comrades, after which he had disappeared."

The International, whose noble object was a grand, open, comprehensive organization of the proletariat into a class-conscious body, determined to achieve its emancipation by the force of its united numbers and the superiority of its collective intelligence, could not allow a few conspirators that it had repeatedly disowned and constantly held at arm's length, to thus recklessly, fraudulently and murderously compromise it in the estimation of all honest people. At the International Conference held in London in September, 1871, it was therefore resolved, upon the request of the General Council, to investigate the Alliance and the participation of Bakunin in the Netschaieff matter. The result of the investigation was submitted to the International Congress of the Hague in 1872, and Bakunin was expelled.**

At that time the Social Democrats of Germany, firmly planted on scientific ground, were advancing with rapid strides. At the first Parliamentary elections of the newly established Empire, held in 1871, they had already cast 102,000 votes and elected one delegate to the Reichstag. In 1874, they cast over 351,000 votes and elected nine delegates. But in France a reign of terror and espionage had been instituted by the victorious reaction after the fall of the Commune. All the Socialist agitators of note or ability had been either shot, transported to penal colonies, or compelled to seek safety in exile. Among the overawed, persecuted, distracted masses of the French proletariat sentiments of hatred and hopes of revenge took precedence of calm study. Organization for mutual enlightenment or combined action of any sort was at any rate impossible. And so the country which, far more than Germany, might at that time have influenced the direction of the movement among its immediate neighbors, was and would evidently, for a number of years, remain paralyzed. Under those conditions it was quite obvious to any thoughtful, cool-headed Socialist, that an effective reorganization of the international forces for any other purpose than disastrous insurrection was then impossible and would largely depend in the future upon the steady progress of Socialism in Germany, through which example and encouragement would be given to the rest of Europe. To announce the dissolution of the International Workingmen's Association would, of course, have been highly impolitic. The seat of its General Council was, therefore, transferred to New York, where little else was done than keep track of the course of events.

Bakunin thus remained in practical control of the movement in Italy and Spain. But it was not, by any means, a labor movement. As stated by Benoit Malon, his lieutenants were few among the workingmen. Malatesta, Zanardelli, Papini, Chiarini, Giangrandi, Ferrara, Dondi, Bernardello, Ceretti, Paladino, Tucci, Curatolo, Guardino, Pistolesi, etc., were university students; Faggioli, Berton, Piccinini, Nabruzzi, Pezzi, Renzi, Tacchini, Ferrari, etc., were clerks. Cafiero was a rich land owner." Their chief occupation consisted in philosophical disputes, occasionally supplemented by physical encounters, with the Mazzinians, who, like themselves, sprang fom that "ardent middle-class youth, without opportunity and without prospect," every individual member of which looked to social chaos for his own opportunity. True, however, to the first rule laid down by their master, that "ideas must be spread among the masses corresponding with their instincts," and conceiving those instincts to be the "bad passions," they advocated destruction, fomented riots and encouraged strikes with a sole view to disorder, regardless of the persecutions and sufferings to which the poor privates in their "army of the revolution" might consequently be subjected. Of the fundamental principles of social reconstruction they said nothing and would hear nothing. They professed, in fact, that they had none and that there could not be any. One of them, who since then has learned much, and who now is as able an exponent of Socialism as he was then a muddle-headed anarchist, wrote in an explanatory reply to the Paris "Egalité" (1878): "Of doctrines we may say that we have but little. We are anarchists, that is all. We demand that every one be given the possibility of manifesting his wants and the means of satisfying them; in a word, we demand for every one the right to do as he pleases; and as this cannot be obtained without first destroying the present order, we are in favor of revolutionary action. In political action we see the abandonment of the revolution."

Such dim vistas of the opportunities of happiness that were "necessarily" to flow from the destruction of the "State in the abstract," however pleasant to the middle-class "déclassés," could not, of course, satisfy the concrete mind—or perverse "instincts"—of the wage-working "army." As the movement spread and a number of workingmen entered the sections, they began "to manifest their wants" in anticipation of the contemplated destruction, and to inquire as to the nature of the means of well-being which a mere declaration of their freedom "to do as they pleased" would "necessarily" afford and they came to the conclusion that collectivism—the collective property of land, machinery and all the means of production and distribution—must be the basis of the new industrial order.

It is true that in the very same article 2 of the programme of the Alliance, which originally contained the objectionable words "equalization of the classes," Bakunin had found it expedient to admit the "principle of collectivism," in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Brussels Congress of the International Workingmen's Association" in 1868. But this resolution had been passed over the strenuous opposition of the Proudhonian anarchists—or, "mutuellists," as they and the Bakuninites styled themselves. Its true meaning was constantly weakened by the slight consideration they gave it in their public utterances, or was actually perverted by their vague interpretations of it in their confusing references to "groups," "federations of groups," "free associations," etc.

Likewise it is true that in the same programme (article 5) Bakunin, by rejecting "all such political action as would not have for its immediate and direct object the triumph of Labor over Capital," seemed not only to repudiate any compromise with reactionary parties, but to implicitly commend the formation of workingmen's parties, wherever practicable, for the purpose of independent political action at the ballot box, were it only as an aid to agitation in the pursuit of his exclusive aim—the destruction of the State, which, by the way, would have to be taken before it could be abolished. Yet he violently denounced this form of action, even in countries where it could be resorted to with considerable effect, and the bull-headed opposition made to it by his Italian followers was largely instrumental in preserving and consolidating the power of the Italian bourgeoisie.

But, as already stated, the grip of Bakunin and his "ardent youth" upon the "popular instincts" could not be indefinitely maintained. With the increase of the wage-working element in the membership of the Italian sections, the sound principles of International Socialism gradually emerged from the fogs of anarchistic sophistry, and the demands for corresponding tactics grew louder every day. In Lombardy a Collectivist federation was formed. In presenting the report of the committee on platform and resolutions, Gnocchi-Viani said: "Insurrection alone cannot establish a new civilization. Either Socialism is an abnormal inspiration, contrary to historic law, and in this case it must disappear, or, as we firmly believe, it is a logical historic development, and therefore must survive. To secure its triumph all the practicable means at our command must be availed of." In the platform itself the same views were expressed in different language, and among the suggested means was the organization and federation of labor unions, which the anarchists had never thought of, but which, later on and cuckoo-like, they would attempt to use as convenient nests for the hatching of their schemes by unsophisticated wagtails. In striking contrast with the anarchistic "philosophy of misery" and "bad passions" was the fulfilment of all the grand aspirations of universal mankind, the Socialist party must not neglect immediate wants, for its post of duty is anywhere a wrong cries for redress and a suffering for alleviation."*

Bakunin died in 1876. In 1877, at the Congress of Ghent, his own International was split in twain, the Collectivists breaking away from the anarchists. At the same moment the Socialists of Germany were casting 498,447 votes for their candidates.

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* Programme of the Revolutionary International Brothers, § 5.

* When in the early days of 1869, the Alliance submitted its programme to the General Council of the International and applied for admission, the latter replied (March 9) that it was not within its powers to pass judgment upon the scientific value of that programme, but suggested that if the words, "Abolition of the Classes," were substituted for the expression, "Equalization of the Classes," there might be no obstacle to the conversion of the sections of the Alliance into International Sections; and it added: "If the dissolution of the Alliance and the merging of its sections into the International were decided upon, it would be necessary, in accordance with our by-laws, to give the General Council full information as to the seat and membership of each new section."

** An enlarged statement, signed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Leo Frankel, E. Dupont, C. Le Moussu and Aug. Serraillier, was published in 1873. The part relating to the Netchaieff affair is from the pen of Nicholas Outine. In the Appendix are the Programmes and by-laws of the Alliance in its various forms, public and secret.

* Likewise did Bebel say in 1891: "The deputies in Parliament should in nowise observe a strictly negative attitude, but should make every effort to win concessions in favor of the workers. Why have we always decided for this? Because everyone in practical life knows that it would be a piece of stupidity if our party did not also voice the daily needs, the daily sorrows of the working classes and press for redress of the existing evils and for improvement of prevalent conditions."

(To be Continued.)

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

THOMAS MURRAY.

Departure of a Veteran, His Treatment by the Runaway Pure and Simplers.

The death of Comrade Thomas Murray, the honored labor leader, is directly traceable to the big trolley strike of 1894, when he received a brutal clubbing at the hands of the police of the Twentieth Precinct. Murray was an active member of the then District Assembly No. 75, Knights of Labor, and held the office of master workman in Local Assembly 7,257 of that organization at the time of the strike. The striking conductors and motormen of the Myrtle avenue, Flushing avenue and Union avenue lines had headquarters in a hall at Ridgewood, and were holding a meeting one night when a squad of Captain Kitzer's police forced their way into the room and routed out the strikers with their clubs.

Murray, as master workman, was presiding at the time, and he came in for an extra share of the clubbing, which was wholly without justification or excuse. Certain it is that Murray had always been known as a quiet, law-abiding citizen.

He was laid up for several months as the result of the treatment he received from the police, and for a long time his life was despaired of. He never fully recovered, although he got well enough to walk around and even to attempt some work. Formerly he had been robust, with a fine physique and the picture of health. He left Brooklyn a couple of years ago, thinking he might get better health up the State, but this hope proved delusive, and he returned to this city to die.

Murray was a native of Ireland, but had been in this country a good many years, although still a young man. He was not so prominently known in labor circles as some others, but he was invariably recognized as a man of sterling qualities, without a dishonest hair on his head. He was well educated, and was influential in his organization.

It was noteworthy that at his funeral there was not a single representative of D. A. 75, K. of L. Mr. Martin Connolly, who, at the time of the strike, was master workman of D. A. 75, and who, after the strike, was befriended by our noble Comrade Murray, had not the decency or gratitude to call and see his benefactor during his long illness, much less attend his funeral. But this celebrity of pure and simpledom now holds a political job as driver of Raymond's prison van, which he obtained through notoriety and being "a good Republican"—voting against what we struck for in January, 1895: "decent wages."

From my knowledge of our heroic Comrade, Tom Murray, he was too noble to be in the same boat with a crew of pure and simpledoms. They treated him as they do all honest, upright men—they forgot him; they forgot one whose memory is dear to honest workers, and who is a loss to the community.

Intelligent almost to the hour of his death. On one occasion a caller mentioned to him the probability of a coming good government under Tammany Hall. In reply to which Tom said: "For heaven's sake don't make me any sicker than I am; good government will come only through the Socialist Labor party."

The remains of a good husband, a good father and a good Socialist now lie in Holy Cross Cemetery. Fraternally yours, JAMES DOYLE.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Prof. R. T. Ely.—The package of campaign documents is ready. Your letter stating library to which they are to be sent is mislaid. Please repeat address.

T. L., Dedham, Mass.—That answer should be sent to the "Appeal to Reason." In THE PEOPLE it could be understood only very partially seeing it refers to an article and controversy not printed in THE PEOPLE, but in the "Appeal to Reason." It should reach those who read the matter referred to.

SUPPRESSED, OF COURSE.

The Philadelphia "Record" Refuses Publication to an Article that Nails its Capitalist False Statements.

The below letter, mailed to the Philadelphia "Record" on last Nov. 3d, has been refused publication:

Editor, "The Record":—Sir—In the "Record" of Monday, Nov. 1st, in an article on "Coal-Mining Machinery," you say: "One of the immediate effects of the recent strike in the coal regions has been to create a boom in orders for coal-mining machinery."

Each of these machines will do the work of 8 or 10 men.

In said article you also say: "Every new invention opens up a new field of work, usually of a superior kind to that which formerly existed, and so far from increasing the sum total of want in the laboring world, each new appliance adds to the sum of comfort."

You also show that with the machinery now in use in the coal mines thousands of men must have been displaced and that the number of these will shortly be increased.

I would like to know what "new field of work" has been opened up to these men?

You make an assertion but you do not attempt to prove it.

What "new field of work" has been opened up to the compositors who have been displaced by type-setting machines in the "Record" and all other newspaper offices?

In the Edgar Thompson steel works 800 men, with the aid of improved machinery, turn out as much product in a day as 4,500 men under the old methods a few years ago.—What "new field of work" has been opened up to those men?

You assert that labor-saving machinery tends to ameliorate the condition of the wage-worker.—I claim that as long as the machine is owned by private individuals it can never be any benefit to the wage workers, but on the contrary.

Privately owned machinery has been an evil and not a benefit to the wage workers, and so it will continue so long as the present industrial system lasts.

An industrial system in which an able-bodied man who is willing to work can't get work must be a wrong system, and the sooner we do away with it the better.

The only way in which labor-saving machinery can be a benefit is by a system of collective ownership by the people, and all industry carried on for use and not for profit.

AN AMERICAN WORKER.
Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1897.

SOME MENTAL PHENOMENA.

(Continued from Page 2.)

Is your son or daughter to be an artist? You can get a chubby baby for a model of Cupid at a quarter a sitting. You can have an Apollo from behind a junkman's pushcart for half a dollar, or a Venus de Medici as beautiful as the original for a dollar a pose.

Do you want to justify yourself for being selfish and cruel-hearted—starve these wretches, and bring them by dependence, ignorance and poverty as low as they can get, outside of jail. Then send your slummers to report upon their degradation, their filthy homes, their circum-ambulating growlers, their wife beatings, their child squallings, their raggedness, profanity and shame. And lo! you are justified. And yet all these things require is thrift to be as you are, for there are no classes in our free, glorious and independent country!

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. $1 per year.

The Syracuse Socialist,—

The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.

The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. $2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. $1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. 75 cents per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 236 East 4th street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Davenport, Iowa.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$1,977.51
Greenberg, N. Y.	2.00
Bet between P. and S., N. Y.	2.00
Assembly Districts 34 and 35, New York	1.04
Frances McDaniels, New York	2.00
G. Luck, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
A. Kerchefsky, Gloversville, New York	1.00
Section Portchester, N. Y.	2.50
14th Assembly District, N. Y.	75
Total	$1,989.80

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

St. Paul, Minn.

The Section St. Paul, S. L. P., has made arrangements for a Christmas festival on December 26th. It will commence at 2 p. m., and will end with dancing. The programme consists of music, speeches and recitations by ladies and children.

Family tickets, 25c., to be had of Comrade Carling, 812 Wabash street, and at the box office. Come one, come all. I. HERTZ, Organizer.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Comrade Matchett held the chair at the meeting of December 21st. All were present except Bennett. The financial report for the week ending December 18th showed receipts to the amount of $174.25; expenditures, $69.77; balance, $104.48.

An agreement is submitted relative to the publication of the translation of the "Eighteenth Brumaire," and is approved. A complaint from Milwaukee about non-publication of a report was disposed of, and the secretary instructed to write to Milwaukee in connection with this matter.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 20.—From the meagre reports which the official organs receive from the Sections of Indianapolis it would seem that the members are not making any efforts to push the cause as it should be deemed proper to make onward strides, but such is not the case, though the work in this direction remains to be done by a few earnest workers, it nevertheless has been done with all the vigor and all the means at our disposal.

The Committee on Agitation has induced Comrade C. R. Davis, of Brighton, Ill., to come here at our expense and deliver lectures and public speeches in the English language for the last two weeks.

To our regret we must state that the interest in these meetings as well as their attendance has been very slight by the general class of working people; at the same time we do expect some good to come of it and benefit our English Section.

The pure and simple labor organizations are in the most instances doing their utmost to prevent our advance, and go as far as to ignore matter interesting to every laboring man. But it can hardly be expected otherwise from people who will, in spite of their knowledge of being dealt with as mere puppets by their leaders, will always send delegates to their conventions, who on the prospect of a "paying office" will endorse the actions and propositions of their fakirs like Gompers, Groff, etc.

The re-election of "Hon." Gompers shows their weakness. Our local press, though being very partial to these grand "labor leaders," cannot avoid mentioning the Socialists as the only hindrance that these gentlemen are not receiving more honor and compensation for the good (?) they have accomplished in behalf of the poor down-trodden wage slave (like the miners).

Some of our old members, mainly those who belong to the Brewers' Union and the old Cleveland Socialists (?) have decided to try their hand with the "Debs'" Social Democracy, and they have had several meetings, and all their demand is to let E. V. Debs come here and take the whole populace by storm.

You can easily imagine how they are thought of by the Comrades whom they deserted.

Our German Section held yesterday, Dec. 19th, a meeting at Columbus Hall, to debate the attitude of the S. L. P. toward the pure and simple unions, and an open invitation was extended to these German speaking unions to attend and participate in this debate. Their representatives promised their presence but did not appear, most probably they were too much elated about Gompers' re-election, and did not care to attend a discussion they themselves have provoked.

The meeting was well attended and a lively interest was manifested in all questions brought up.

Our reports will be more regular since the Sections have elected a Joint Press Committee to attend to all necessary press matters.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

Massachusetts.

Section Stoneham is holding public meetings every Sunday evening at 7:30 in the Hall of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 41. The Section would like to hear from Comrades who will come to Stoneham and speak at these meetings, provided their expenses are paid. The Section holds a business meeting at the same place Thursday evening, at 7:30, and out of town Comrades will be welcomed. Comrades who will speak will please write to the Secretary of the Section, W. J. Corcoran, Branch 619, Stoneham, Mass.

New York.

12th A. D.—Meeting opened by Comrade Goldstein as chairman and Chas. Rathkopf recording secretary. The delegates to Jewish Convention were instructed to vote in favor of the party's attitude toward trade unions. "Merrie England" to be translated into Hebrew. Our delegates are to vote against a Jewish Grievance Committee. Delegates to try to have "Daily People" subject placed on the order of business.

Report of delegate to Section Greater New York received. Report of Raffle Committee received. Report of "Daily People" Committee received.

Next meeting December 30th. Nomination and election of officers.

Report of 9th Congressional Committee received.

N. Y. CITY.—4th Assembly District—A series of twelve lectures on "The Historical Development of Modern Socialism," to be delivered every second and fourth Fridays of the month, at 165 East Broadway.

3.—January 14—"St. Simon," by L. Boudjanoff.

4.—January 28—"Fourier," by Slobodin.

5.—February 11—"Rob. Owen," by Dr. Girsdansky.

6.—February 25—"The Communist Manifesto," by S. Pollock.

7.—March 11—"Ferdinand Lassalle and His Significance for the German Social Democracy," by J. Bernstein.

8.—March 25—"International Workingmen's Association" (lecturer to be announced).

9.—April 8—"German Social Democracy," by M. Hilkowitz.

10.—April 22—"Socialism in France" (lecturer to be announced).

11.—May 13—"Trade Unionism in England," by N. I. Stone.

12.—May 27—"The Socialist Movement in America," by Daniel De Leon.

SECTION YONKERS.

Every Comrade in Greater New York and Westchester County should attend the grand festival of Labor Songs, which will be held in Teutonia Hall, Yonkers, N. Y., to-day (Sunday), 8 p. m.

Prof. Platon Brounoff has sonsented to donate his services, together with the Russian Musical Society of 60 voices, and for the first time will be sung the famous song of Percy B. Shelly's "Down with Slavery." The music has been composed by Comrade Brounoff and donated to Section Yonkers.

"The Hand and Hammer" will also be sung, and other labor songs. Comrade De Leon will deliver a short address. As the tickets are placed at 25 cents every member and sympathizer should avail themselves of this opportunity to hear Platon Brounoff and Choral Union.

CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL IN BUFFALO.

Section Buffalo, S. L. P., will hold this year the Christmas Festival at Schwarzmeier's Hall, corner Jefferson and Sycamore streets, Saturday, December 25th, beginning at 4 p. m. Among other attractions there will be free distribution of presents among the children of all Comrades and friends present. Tickets bought in advance (at the Labor Lyceum or from any Comrade) cost 10 cents. At the door 25 cents. Children free. If you want to spend that day in company with your fellow Socialists, come and bring your friends and family along.

THE COMMITTEE.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate E. Leske, of the Independent Bakers' Union, Branch 1, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the New York Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., last Sunday, and Delegate B. Korn, of the German Waiters' Union No. 1 was vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the German Cooks and Pastry Cooks Association, and the delegates were admitted.

An invitation from the House Committee, N. Y. Labor Lyceum, for a festival on December 31 was received and accepted.

Ale and Porter Union No. 1 reported having voted for the label of the General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A., and against the joint meetings of D. A.'s.

Two dollars were donated for the agitation tour; 100 tickets were accepted from the Progress Club and distributed to the shop delegates.

Ind. Bakers, Branch 1, voted for the label of the G. E. B., S. S. T. & L. A.

Ind. Bakers, Branch 2, voted for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., and withdrew the label from Boss Leopold, and he will appeal to the C. L. F. for a thorough investigation.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 tabled a request from the Drug Clerks' League. Relative to a request from the Int. Bakers, action was deferred pending a report from the Ind. Bakers. Two dollars were donated for the agitation tour.

Carl Sahm Club did not as yet reply to the inquiry why they withdrew from the United Hebrew Trades, and the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A. will be requested to take peremptory action.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 reported voting for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., and against the Joint D. A. meeting.

Empire City Lodge, Machinists, reported voting for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., to remain in force until the next convention, and against the Joint D. A. meetings.

Int. Pianomakers' Union reported having organized an English-speaking branch, 40 members strong. A meeting will be held at 458 9th avenue, and the employees of Hartmann's shop will also attend. They voted for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., and donated $1 for the agitation tour. Relative to a request of the Int. Bakers' Union action was deferred pending resolution of the C. L. F., N. Y.

Silver Workers' P. A. reported making good progress and accepting members. The branch organized at Providence, R. I., by Prof. Lawrence Timothy, of the "Old Sports," is a howling success, as they initiated 60 members at the last meeting.

Prog. Typographical Union No. 83 voted for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., and favors another attempt at holding a meeting of the Joint D. A.'s. They elected delegates to the Hebrew Convention.

Pressmen & Feeders' Union voted for the label of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Marquetrie Workers' Union reported making good progress, and have an abundance of work.

Progress Club reported that its arrangements for the festival on January 22, 1898, were complete. They presented the C. L. F. with a splendid banner, containing thereon "Merry Christmas" and "Happy New Year." The same was accepted with thanks.

New York Cooks and Pastry Cooks' Association reported having visited these halls and requesting employment for its members: The manager Kraus, of the Grand Central Palace, promised employment; N. Y. Maennerchor Hall refused, although the Int. Bakers and Confectioners' Union will hold a ball at the place; Wendells' Assembly Rooms claimed that they had no festivals just now needing cooks, and also that the cooks employed had been there for 20 years.

German Coppersmiths' Union reported making very good progress, and resolved to acquire a charter from the S. T. & L. A.

Waiters' Alliance Liberty will hold its ball on January 17, 1898, at Progress Hall.

A committee from the 9th Congressional District, S. L. P., invited the body to its festival on January 22, at the Grand Central Palace. This was accepted.

The Arbitration Committee reported being unable to get a reply from the manager of the New York "World" relative to the discharge of 5 members of the German Waiters' Union No. 1 at the request of the Typographical Union No. 6 Chapel, and substituting for these the members of Germania Waiters' Prot. Assn. The same committee reported relative to Braune's Protection Hall, 152d street and Courtland avenue, which employs non-union waiters and bartenders, that a request had been made on Branch 6 Morrissania, of the Allgemeine Arbeiter Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, which meets there, but thus far no reply had been received.

IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

(Continued from Page 1.)

"Yes, it is a bit of a cheek when you come to think of it. Why, Bill Morgan is only a working man, just the same as you and I, Ted. What business has he to know anything about such things?"

"That's just what I should like to know. Some of these chaps is getting too big, I tell you, and they want their combs cut. Well, good night," with which the two parted.

The election was over and almost forgotten. The good parsons had been once more successful, and all that Morgan had to remember the contest by were one or two scars on his body, and some slight damage to his reputation caused by the slanders Ted Sennett and his friends had industriously circulated. He had returned home from work, and just finished his evening meal, when there came a knock at the door. On opening it he saw, to his surprise, that his visitor was Sennett.

"Good evening, Mr. Morgan," said the latter, "I came to see you about a little matter of business in which I thought you could help me."

"What is it?" asked Morgan.

"Well, if we could sit down and talk it over it would be better."

"Oh, very well, come in," said Morgan, not feeling too hospitable towards his unexpected visitor.

"You'll excuse me, Mr. Morgan, for coming to you," said Sennett, when they were seated, "but I knew you'd be ready to help us in our trouble. You mustn't think any more about that little bother at the election time. I was sorry to have to go against you, but, of course, I had to."

"I don't see that at all," replied Morgan, "but still, that's all past and done with now. What's the present trouble?"

"Why, we had a row with the boss, and we have all come out. It's a matter of wages. He wants to cut us down a couple o' bob a week, and so we have come out, and we want you to take the matter up for us. We know you are always willing to give a helping hand to fellow-workmen in cases like this."

"Well, I am quite willing to do anything I can, of course; but I don't see what I can do in this case. This is your own affair. Surely you'll be able to settle it yourselves."

"Well, the boss won't come to any arrangement with us at all. He says we are out, and we can stop out until we come to his terms. We don't know what to do. We've never had a strike before. The men are having a meeting now, and they sent me to ask you to come down."

The upshot of it was that Morgan went to the meeting of the men. He assisted them in forming a committee, and lost half-a-day next day in order to go with a deputation of the men to see their employer. The latter refused to make any terms with them, and the result was that for several weeks the strike dragged on, Morgan devoting all his spare time to assisting the men in raising funds to keep them while they were out. Eventually the employer gave way, and the men delightfully celebrated their victory and were loud in their expressions of gratitude to Morgan for the manner in which he had stood by them and helped them in their struggle.

* * * * *

It was three years later, and again Morgan was the Socialist candidate, and again he found himself occasionally surrounded by the unreasoning crowd of furious partisans of clericalism and ignorance with which his previous experience had made him familiar. On this occasion, however, they were more abusive and more violent than ever. The cry of "atheist" had been raised against him, and the knowledge that, notwithstanding their ignorance, Socialism was a growing influence, and the feeling that their beloved Church was in danger, had raised to boiling point the fury of these pious zealots, whose every sentence was interlarded with oaths, and whose acquaintance with the inside of a church was limited to a visit on the occasion of a wedding, a funeral or a christening. Men and women vied with each other in hurling the foulest epithets at the head of poor Morgan; presently there was a rush for the frail platform. Notwithstanding the efforts of the small band who surrounded it, the slight structure was hurled to the ground and smashed to pieces. That was not the worst, for Morgan was thrown down with it, and the man who threw him down, the ringleader of the crowd, who administered to Morgan the kick which made him a hospital patient for some weeks, and put an end to his candidature for that time, was Ted Sennett.

THE DAILY PEOPLE $50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to December 22th, 1897.

$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to December 23rd, incl.:

Previously acknowledged	$2147.90
R. Schwemmer, Gloversville, N. Y., $1; G. Dubois, Albany, N. Y., $10	11.00
Total	$2158.90

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

—OF THE—

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100.

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Address all orders for supplies to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York, N. Y.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

"Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for 10 cents. Every comrade who wants to help to push along our cause and who happens to know any Swedes, would do us a great favor by sending in the names and addresses with (or even without) 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the expected reader pay the price himself if possible, but at any rate send along the name and address.

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Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 98

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 98

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 98

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 194

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 241

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 96 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 199

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 82d St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 125th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

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Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and of $4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 10 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY SCHOLL, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd Ave., Room 35, New York City.

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Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

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F. E. Hutchinson, 428 Smith street.
James H. Nolan, 158 Charles street.
T. J. Matthews, 1851 Westminster st.
James McGuigan, 147 Manton avenue.
Frank Randall, Cranston street, near Parade street.

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